

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 AID-20 EB-11 SAJ-01 SAM-01 OMB-01

COME-00 DRC-01 ( ISO ) W

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R 071712Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1416

USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 19078

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, US, CB, FR, XA

SUBJECT: KHMER AT 29TH GA: FRANCE

REF: (A) USUN 2645 (B) PARIS 18738

1. SUMMARY. ACCORDING TO QUAI OFFICIAL, EVEN GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING CAMBODIAN CREDENTIALS IN UN WILL NOT BE SENT UNTIL ABOUT SEPTEMBER 17. FINAL FRENCH POSITION WOULD BE REVIEWED AT TIME OF VOTE IN LIGHT OF ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT OFFICIAL THOUGHT GOF WOULD THEN ABSTAIN. SINCE ONE CAMBODIAN SIDE WAS STILL CONVINCED THAT IT COULD WIN BY MILITARY MEANS, IT WAS STILL NOT TIME FOR GOF TO REITERATE GOF SUPPORT FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IN CAMBODIA. WE SEE NO INDICATION OF ANY CHANGE IN GOF POLICY TOWARD MORE FAVORABLE POSITION TOWARD GKR EVEN AFTER GRUNK STATEMENT ON NATIONALIZATION OF FRENCH RUBBER PLANTATIONS. END SUMMARY

2. QUAI ACTING DIRECTOR FOR ASIA BOLLE TOLD EMBOFF AUGUST 6 THAT GOF INSTRUCTIONS FOR KHMER VOTE IN UNGA WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE SENT TO FRENCH MISSION IN NEW YORK  
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BEFORE SEPTEMBER 17. INSTRUCTIONS WOULD PROBABLY EVEN

THEN BE VERY GENERAL AND REQUIRE RECONFIRMATION AT THE TIME OF THE VOTE. FRENCH WOULD WISH TO CONSULT WITH EC COLLEAGUES ON RANGE OF PROBLEMS BEFORE THE UNGA; VOTES WHICH DID NOT DIRECTLY AFFECT EUROPE, SUCH AS KHMER VOTE, WOULD PROBABLY BE DECIDED BY EACH COUNTRY SEPARATELY, BUT FRANCE WISHED EC CONSULTATIONS. IN ADDITION THE SITUATION, BOTH MILITARY IN CAMBODIA AND DIPLOMATIC WORLDWIDE, WOULD PROBABLY EVOLVE BETWEEN NOW AND ACTUAL VOTE. THIRDLY, ACTUAL PROCESS OF CONSULTATIONS IN UN AND DEVELOPMENTS IN DEBATE AND VOTE (I.E. ROLE OF ALGERIAN PRESIDENT, NATURE OF TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS) WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION BY FRANCE. BOLLE NOTED THAT LIBERIAN MOTION FOR POST-PONEMENT WAS RATHER LATE AND UNEXPECTED DEVELOPMENT LAST YEAR.

3. BOLLE THEN SAID THAT HE WAS NONETHELESS CONVINCED THAT WHEN THE MOMENT CAME TO VOTE, THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE IN THE FRENCH POSITION: IN ANY VOTE REQUIRING A CHOICE BETWEEN GKR AND GRUNK, GOF WOULD ABSTAIN. HE COULD NOT, HOWEVER, GIVE SUCH A VIEW AS AN OFFICIAL GOF POSITION AT THIS TIME.

4. BOLLE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE FRENCH FAVORED THE RESOLUTION OF THE KHMER QUESTION THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, THEY WERE PREPARED TO REPEAT THEIR POSITION ONLY WHEN IT SERVED THE PURPOSE OF FURTHERING THE CAUSE OF NEGOTIATIONS (SEE REF. (B) FOR QUAI ACTING POLITICAL DIRECTOR'S VIEWS). FRANCE WAS CONVINCED THAT NEITHER SIDE COULD GAIN A MILITARY VICTORY AND NEGOTIATIONS WOULD PROVIDE THE SOLUTION WHEN BOTH THE COMBATTANTS IN CAMBODIA CAME TO A SIMILAR REALIZATION AND NOT BEFORE. FOR SOME TIME NOW THE GKR HAD ACCEPTED THIS VIEW AND WAS INCREASINGLY WILLING TO CONSIDER, IF NOT ADOPT, FAIRLY REALISTIC BARGAINING POSITIONS. A SETTLEMENT WOULD, AFTER ALL, HAVE TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE LONG TERM AND BASIC REALITIES OF THE CAMBODIAN SITUATION, THE RESILIENCY OF A KHMER COMMUNIST MOVEMENT ON TERRITORY CONTIGUOUS TO THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS AND ENJOYING CONSIDERABLE VIETNAMESE SUPPORT.

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5. SIHANOUK AND THE KHMER COMMUNISTS HAD NOT YET COME TO THE REALIZATION THAT THEY COULD NOT BRING ABOUT AN END TO U.S. AND OTHER ASSISTANCE FOR THE GKR AND THEREBY GAIN A MILITARY VICTORY IN CAMBODIA. WITH THE PROSPECT OF A UNGA VICTORY AHEAD OF THEM AND THE HOPE THAT THIS WOULD INDUCE THE U.S. CONGRESS TO TERMINATE AID, THEY ARE NOW IN NO MOOD TO CONSIDER A COMPROMISE

SOLUTION. THEY PROBABLY HOPE TO BE ABLE ALSO TO IMPROVE  
THEIR MILITARY POSITION DURING THE COMING DRY SEASON  
PARTICULARLY IF THERE IS A REDUCTION IN U.S. AID FOR  
PHNOM PENH THROUGH POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE U.S.  
WHEN THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE UNGA VOTE AND THE SUCCESSES  
OF THEIR MILITARY OFFENSIVES DO NOT ATTAIN THEIR

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 19078

OPTIMISTIC EXPECTATIONS, THEY MAY BE PREPARED TO BE  
REALISTIC AND TO ACCEPT THAT THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO  
ATTAIN TOTAL MILITARY VICTORY. HOWEVER, SINCE THEY WILL  
THEN ENJOY A STRONG INTERNATIONAL POSITION AND AN  
IMPROVED MILITARY POSITION IN CAMBODIA, THEIR BARGAINING  
POSITION WILL BE VERY DEMANDING. IT IS THEN THAT FRENCH  
ENCOURAGEMENT OF NEGOTIATIONS MAY BE HELPFUL.

6. BOLLE SAID THAT FRENCH RUBBER PLANTERS HAD TOLD HIM  
THAT TO DATE THERE HAS BEEN NO ACTION BY THE GRUNK TO  
INTERFERE WITH THEIR OPERATIONS IN COMMUNIST CONTROLLED  
AREAS IN CAMBODIA. THE GOF HAD NO INTENTION OF  
RESPONDING FORMALLY TO THE COMMUNIST STATEMENT ON  
NATIONALIZATION SINCE IT WOULD PROBABLY BE DETRIMENTAL

TO THE INTERESTS OF THE FRENCH BUSINESSMEN. IN ADDITION, ANY RESPONSE TO THE COMMUNISTS WOULD IN EFFECT INDICATE THAT THE GRUNK SHOULD BE DEALT WITH DIPLOMATICALLY. MANAC'H, WHO DEPARTED FOR PEKING ABOUT AUGUST 4, WOULD ASK HIS SIHANOUKIST CONTACTS WHAT THE GRUNK HAD IN MIND. THE GOF DID NOT CONSIDER THAT THIS WAS A VERY SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT.

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7. COMMENT: BOLLE'S VIEW THAT THERE WILL BE NO CHANGE IN THE GOF VOTE IN UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA SEEMS WELL FOUNDED TO US. WE ALSO SEE NO INDICATION OF ANY CHANGE IN OTHER ASPECTS OF GOF ATTITUDES TOWARD GKR TO MORE FAVORABLE POSITIONS, AS HAS BEEN REPORTED BY SOME OTHERS. EVEN GRUNK ACTION TO NATIONALIZE FRENCH RUBBER INTERESTS IN COMMUNIST AREAS HAS NOT GREATLY INFLUENCED QUAI ATTITUDES. WE THEREFORE THINK WE CANNOT RELY ON GOF FOR ASSISTANCE IN UNGA VOTE, EITHER DIRECTLY OR IN FAVORABLE INFLUENCE ON OTHER COUNTRIES, SUCH AS FRANCO-PHONE AFRICAN STATES.

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## Message Attributes

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